121	F. Patrilineal clan	(exogamous; widespread)
	G. Phratry	(endogamous or sometimes exogamous; widespread)
	H. Moiety	(endogamous or sometimes exogamous; Nilgiri-wide)
	I. Badaga community	(generally endogamous; Nilgiri-wide)
	J. Fourteen *kolas* or septs	(exogamous; in popular belief, South- India-wide)

THE JOINT PATRILOCAL FAMILY

592 (611) The Badaga family is always patrilineal and nearly always patrilocal. Because of the power it wields a joint family is the ideal and every third generation typically passes through this desired (591) state. Thus a young couple establish a new home in the village of the groom's father. Their children, if male, should remain in the same house with their parents, or be married into another village if female. Then the young men take brides from villages of affines, bring them to the parental home and raise their children there. At this juncture there would be three generations living under the same roof: (1) unmarried grandchildren, (2) unmarried daughters, (591) married sons and their wives, (3) the parents. On the death of the founding father the brothers are expected to leave his house and establish separate homes. The dispersal of the household has three causes—architectural, legal, and psychological. The first is that (342) Badaga houses have only two or three fairly small rooms and by (362) the time that three generations, two of them with spouses, are occupying one house there is an acute shortage of space—a situation which may be aggravated by polygyny. The legal cause (428) of dispersal is ultimogeniture: Badaga law requires that the (736) youngest son inherit his father's house and at the same time take care of the widowed mother (Rivers, 1906, 559-560). Financial provision should be made for all older brothers to build separate (362) houses. The psychological causes are the total lack of privacy and (593) the elder brothers' uneasy feeling of indebtedness to the youngest brother who legitimately owns the house. A further complication is that in recent years one brother working in an office has become

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5. Adoption and Inheritance

Upon the death of a family head only his sons inherit his property. The farm-land and cattle are divided between them, or else maintained undivided as joint family property. But with regard to the house, the Badagas have the unusual institution of ultimogeniture: it is the youngest son who inherits the house and usually keeps his aging mother and unmarried sisters in it. New houses might have to be built for the elder brothers. The ultimogeniture makes good sense in a society where often a girl was married by the age of 12, and where consequently the oldest son of an elderly widow might be no more than 13 or 14 years her junior. Her youngest son is more likely to be a young man in the prime of life, more vigorous, with fewer dependents, and better able to provide for his old mother. By the time he has grown up, his elder brothers have commonly married, cleared fresh farmland, and built themselves new houses near this land (Rivers 1906: 560; Frazer 1918: 81).

Since the Badagas were until recently non-literate, and even now write wills only in rare cases, there has always been a series of rules to handle the transition of property from the dead to the living, whether lineal male descendants or adopted sons. Their substitute for a written will is the *sa:la jo:li*, a verbal statement made by the dying man. Each wish *(sa:la)* in it is normally followed by his relatives, but if any wish seems unfair they will immediately question him about it. Unfairness should here be construed as meaning an unequal division of property between the male heirs or too much generosity towards the wife and/or daughters. These people will try to reach a compromise with the dying man so that his wishes can later be followed without further argument.

There are no rules about particular kinds of property going to particular categories of relatives, with the one exception that when the head of the household dies, his main house goes to his youngest son. Even so, the *value* of that house has to be divided between all the sons, so that the youngest may well have to give something to his elder brothers. The rights of the youngest son in the house are absolute. It is true that he must be ready to shelter his widowed mother there; yet if he wants to he can sell the house without prior consultation. The funerals of his father and mother will be held there, under the superintendence of their *eldest* son. Yet if the eldest son wants to bring Kota musicians to perform at the funeral, and the youngest son prohibits this, his will must prevail since it is his house.

In 1963 I interviewed a sample of 301 Badaga males (aged 15 and above), and a further sample of 119 adult females. These people came from all parts of the Nilgiri District; and one of the questions asked concerned the number of houses that they "owned." In Table 1 it will be seen that 38% of the men did own houses, but only 19% owned more than one house. The percentages of women "owning" houses were at nearly all levels less than for

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428 to her late husband's estate. Occasionally a son who is to inherit is considered
(622) insane or otherwise incapacitated. Under such circumstances a village head-
(623) man and council would give his share of the inheritance directly to his son or else to whichever person was supporting him.

595 Inheritance problems most commonly arise when an aging man has no
(428) sons. He may then marry a young woman, probably his second or third wife,
(837) in the hope that she will produce a son. (He may even encourage his younger brother to sleep with her.) Alternatively, he will adopt a son. At its simplest, this could involve bringing his brother's son or another agnatic male into the
597 household. The latter could even begin to run the household and enjoy the
(425) property before the owner's death, and if the headman and the relatives accepted this situation the property might be fully transferred to this person before the old man died. Where no male descendant exists, and none has
428 been adopted, the dead man's property is divided equally between his
(736) brothers, who are then obliged to apportion some of it for the support of his daughters and/or widow. Once she dies that portion reverts to the brothers. It may of course happen that one or two of his brothers have already died before a childless man dies. In that case the sons of those dead brothers would still inherit their portions. Several sons of one dead brother divide their father's share equally amongst themselves, but it is no larger than the share that each of their living uncles receives.

593 The brother of a dead man does not formally adopt the orphaned
736 children, but it is he who should bring them up and arrange their marriages.
428 Once the male orphans are adults they take over their father's property from
(425) their uncle who has been managing it. In this situation the village council
(623) would nonetheless award a part of the property to that uncle in recompense for his services.

When brothers are dividing up an inheritance among themselves, they
428 give a share called *tale ku:ru* ("head dividend") to their eldest brother's
425 eldest son provided that he is older than every other brother's son. In effect this person is treated by them as a younger brother rather than a nephew except that his share is smaller than that of the brothers. When his own father, the eldest of the brothers, dies, his property is divided in equal portions in the usual manner amongst all of his sons. Since his eldest son already owns the "head dividend," that is not touched. The end result is that the eldest son of an eldest brother often inherits a bit more property than his younger brothers do.

6. Kinship Vocabulary

551 It is a feature of Badaga speech that a third party is referred to by his
601 connection to the person addressed. Thus when a man is speaking about his own wife, he does not say "my wife," but refers to her by her relationship to the person he is addressing, even though this may involve quite complicated vocabulary. However, in the case where the man is talking to his FF